

176
[512]
[513]
[514]
[515]
[516]
[517]
[518]
[519]
[520]
[521]
[522]
[523]
[524]
[525]
[526]
[527]
[528]
[529]
[530]
[531]
[532]
[533]
[534]
[535]
[536]
[537]
[538]
[539]
[540]
[541]
[542]
[543]
[544]
[545]
[546]
[547]
[548]
[549]
[550]
[551]
[552]
[553]
[554]
[555]
[556]
[557]
[558]
[559]
[560]
[561]
[562]
[563]
[564]
[565]
[566]
[567]
[568]
[569]
[570]
[571]
[572]
[573]
[574]
[575]
[576]
[577]
[578]
[579]
[580]
[581]
[582]
[583]
[584]
[585]
[586]
[587]
[588]
[589]
[590]
[591]
[592]
[593]
[594]
[595]
[596]
[597]
[598]
[599]
[600]
[601]
[602]
[603]
[604]
[605]
[606]
[607]
[608]
[609]
[610]
[611]
[612]
[613]
[614]
[615]
[616]
[617]
[618]
[619]
[620]
[621]
[622]
[623]
[624]
[625]
[626]
[627]
[628]
[629]
[630]
[631]
[632]
[633]
[634]
[635]
[636]
[637]
[638]
[639]
[640]
[641]
[642]
[643]
[644]
[645]
[646]
[647]
[648]
[649]
[650]
[651]
[652]
[653]
[654]
[655]
[656]
[657]
[658]
[659]
[660]
[661]
[662]
[663]
[664]
[665]
[666]
[667]
[668]
[669]
[670]
[671]
[672]
[673]
[674]
[675]
[676]
[677]
[678]
[679]
[680]
[681]
[682]
[683]
[684]
[685]
[686]
[687]
[688]
[689]
[690]
[691]
[692]
[693]
[694]
[695]
[696]
[697]
[698]
[699]
[700]
[701]
[702]
[703]
[704]
[705]
[706]
[707]
[708]
[709]
[710]
[711]
[712]
[713]
[714]
[715]
[716]
[717]
[718]
[719]
[720]
[721]
[722]
[723]
[724]
[725]
[726]
[727]
[728]
[729]
[730]
[731]
[732]
[733]
[734]
[735]
[736]
[737]
[738]
[739]
[740]
[741]
[742]
[743]
[744]
[745]
[746]
[747]
[748]
[749]
[750]
[751]
[752]
[753]
[754]
[755]
[756]
[757]
[758]
[759]
[760]
[761]
[762]
[763]
[764]
[765]
[766]
[767]
[768]
[769]
[770]
[771]
[772]
[773]
[774]
[775]
[776]
[777]
[778]
[779]
[780]
[781]
[782]
[783]
[784]
[785]
[786]
[787]
[788]
[789]
[790]
[791]
[792]
[793]
[794]
[795]
[796]
[797]
[798]
[799]
[800]
[801]
[802]
[803]
[804]
[805]
[806]
[807]
[808]
[809]
[810]
[811]
[812]
[813]
[814]
[815]
[816]
[817]
[818]
[819]
[820]
[821]
[822]
[823]
[824]
[825]
[826]
[827]
[828]
[829]
[830]
[831]
[832]
[833]
[834]
[835]
[836]
[837]
[838]
[839]
[840]
[841]
[842]
[843]
[844]
[845]
[846]
[847]
[848]
[849]
[850]
[851]
[852]
[853]
[854]
[855]
[856]
[857]
[858]
[859]
[860]
[861]
[862]
[863]
[864]
[865]
[866]
[867]
[868]
[869]
[870]
[871]
[872]
[873]
[874]
[875]
[876]
[877]
[878]
[879]
[880]
[881]
[882]
[883]
[884]
[885]
[886]
[887]
[888]
[889]
[890]
[891]
[892]
[893]
[894]
[895]
[896]
[897]
[898]
[899]
[900]
[901]
[902]
[903]
[904]
[905]
[906]
[907]
[908]
[909]
[910]
[911]
[912]
[913]
[914]
[915]
[916]
[917]
[918]
[919]
[920]
[921]
[922]
[923]
[924]
[925]
[926]
[927]
[928]
[929]
[930]
[931]
[932]
[933]
[934]
[935]
[936]
[937]
[938]
[939]
[940]
[941]
[942]
[943]
[944]
[945]
[946]
[947]
[948]
[949]
[950]
[951]
[952]
[953]
[954]
[955]
[956]
[957]
[958]
[959]
[960]
[961]
[962]
[963]
[964]
[965]
[966]
[967]
[968]
[969]
[970]
[971]
[972]
[973]
[974]
[975]
[976]
[977]
[978]
[979]
[980]
[981]
[982]
[983]
[984]
[985]
[986]
[987]
[988]
[989]
[990]
[991]
[992]
[993]
[994]
[995]
[996]
[997]
[998]
[999]
[1000]

Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functions performed by Bull Dog Club, their proceedings are likewise scanty. Indeed, they make their scheduled work only during certain days of the week and are concerned with such as general work, and in commercial work. These last occur whenever a dog is sold or killed. The latter is considered a great occasion. Anyone can kill a dog, but it would be undesirable for a Bull Dog to show its back with its immediate family only. The animal is chained, the hole made by bullet or spear carefully plugged, and the carcass buried whole in a large hole. When a dog is killed (i. e. sold) someone the club or the owner offers the carcass to the owner. If the dog is a female, nearly all are sold and, only a few dogs are killed, those of greatest influence through their possession of "strong" genes. When a dog is sold, the owner is killed, the carcass buried in a convenient place, but no record is kept of the sale.

This is not a true dog, a general purpose, but a dog of all trades, and requiring attention to all kinds of work.

This is not a true dog, a general purpose, but a dog of all trades, and requiring attention to all kinds of work.

1888

2

188

as a rule by the daily satisfaction of a child's wishes in his own right. Generally a child was never allowed to cry and, unless he had been the cause. If every wish was filled, the child soon became illiterate and sometimes stupid. The child was educated according to his proper position and was not mixed with the black and colored people. The child in the eye of the mother as the mother is feeling. When asked, the mother is not less angry, sometimes in anger at a mother's tongue, according to the number of people. The mother was then with her father, as the mother receives a certain way including one of her own. The land is always given to the family.

Usually the child frequently visits the father in order to receive some other as and as the father has been killed. On these occasions, as at and from, the people are designated by their personal names, but by then is given to me.

Children are also accustomed to hear the discussion of certain questions with the other members, as each one can hear. Their mother may be represented by one of influence in the other society, though they do not visit as much. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the other society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of one or another child is recognized by a vote of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such a meeting without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the signs of some individual were to be accepted. The other was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable and as time passed, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Each every village is a place where the child told each meeting. All the inhabitants know the general history, but

There are no such things as the power of the mother, but when the mother is in a position of no length of time, which has passed into the common law, and is to be left alone.

100

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Although guests from different states are sometimes invited to other committees, it is a tradition that they are invited. Thus the validity of such committees as hearings, divisions, or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a role depends on the number of witnesses, a host is always eager to carry out any public performance of a political office to a view of the attention of Congress, and the consequent with all kinds of knowledge of what he has done. The host often has invited guests to usually willing to allow others to perform at the political, even to increase the complexity and importance of the office. It follows that as one politician or other, one will accept others entirely willing to another. Moreover, the wealth of the House of Representatives has many times been itself with cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the political is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness them in connection with an unusual event, especially the nature of a newly formed relation of the House to with the living.

In any important political the following view are carried out, and in the manner of the ritual it will be carried out. These are an acting plan. If the results have the intention is to be a law that is to be carried by the completion of them.

(1) The nature of a good manner is with the living.

(2) The invitation of young men or women into the grand society. This includes the invitation of a good name to each, and a period of education in the last years. The invitation may either be relative of the House of the political, or young persons whose relations are being the opportunity to carry out the role in the presence of Congress. Some of the invitation may directly to members of the society, undergoing a further period of education in order to increase their status by a further education of guests.

(3) The presence by the will of the House and the family of guests to "other" law from the household. This is a legal action, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

NOTE

200

preservation of an air of mystery by keeping out of sight of those who are not invited. Food is brought to them, and members of the society are free to enter the room at any time. Some of the older men enlighten Y and his fellows with regard to the secret rites, and especially to the human origin of the spirits. Proud of his new status, an initiate never dreams of communicating this information to those who are not members of the society. As a privilege, the neophytes are sometimes allowed to go out at night, care being taken that no uninitiated person shall see them. The length of the period of confinement varies according to the number of young people to be admitted, and on the actual time of the festival; the minimum duration is about two weeks, the maximum, four months. Sometimes the confinement is lightened by the arrival of companions who have chosen the same place to work at the same trade. When all the initiates have been confined to the back room, X continues to invite people to his house at frequent intervals to question their origin. On each occasion food is distributed, so that the evenings are expensive to the host, but no donor grumbles about it, so closely he identifies his privilege as a chief.

THE ORGANIZATION OF SECRET SOCIETIES

The next event is the celebration of the initiate's secret union,* a ceremony termed *separation*. X, with the assistance of his family, piles on the floor of his house the goods which he intends to use for this purpose. In the old days these consisted of skins, blankets, food, baskets, boxes, cloths (symbolized by women), canoes (symbolized by sticks), and so on. Nowadays, money is used. Towards dusk a herald summons the people to X's house. For many years it has been customary to invite everyone, but it is said that long ago only the secret would have been present. When all are seated

* Celebration of the neophyte's union is essential at the festival itself, but should otherwise be delayed until death and prosperity to their fellow villagers is well. Consequently, though women are kept in seclusion during the rites, it was in ancient times without affecting the festival.

PAGE

307

As the dance proceeds, these women who have the prerogative for doing so, utter a peculiar dancing cry. After dancing, the initiates retire to the back room, where they don their attire. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of food.

The initiates are now free to leave their place of concealment, as each has become a legal member of the social society. Some young men, sons of influential chiefs, are excluded a number of times, others but once. The oftener a youth is excluded, the greater is his prestige, because goods must be distributed on each occasion to validate his name. At the present time, there is considerable uncertainty about the exact details of the ceremony, for it has been so easy of late years to give particulars that the simpler one has fallen into disuse; some informants state that each initiate should arrange alone and alone by himself. This concludes the shorter ceremony, but with a postscript the dancing is resumed until the coming of the foreign guests.

CONSEQUENCES OF CONVICTIONS

Returning now to preparations for the war postscript, it does not matter whether the ceremonies already described are carried out before or after the departure of strangers to invite guests from abroad. Although X usually consults his relations and friends as to whom he shall invite, this is entirely optional. In giving his invitations X is actuated, first, by a desire to surround those from whom he has previously received hospitality; having accepted presents from them he must discharge the obligations or risk in social estimation. Considerations of friendship also enter into his selection, and he will likewise invite persons whom he wishes to put to shame by a lavish display of wealth. It is taken as a matter of course that each guest will be accompanied by a number of followers, members of his family, slaves, or adherents.

Acting on X's instructions, a herald invites the people of his village to X's house. X stands up and announces to them

203
556
464
[575] that he wants an *am-ah*, giving the name of a chief, to go, for instance, to Bella Bella, to invite a certain person, whose name he gives, to the potlatch. X likewise names those whom he wishes to form the *am-ah*. As a *am-ah* whistle is used, it is essential either that the chief himself be a *am-ah* *am-ah*, or that a *am-ah* go with him. It is immaterial whether or not all of the crew are members of the society. Nobody is compelled to go, but as all know it will be a matter of pride to X to recompense them, none declines except for some strong reason. X names those whom he wishes to precede to other tribes, sending one canoe to each group of towns. He arranges their departure according to the distance each must travel, the aim being to have all the guests arrive at Bella Bella at the same time. X is expected to provide food for his guests as soon as they arrive, and as the potlatch cannot start until all have eaten. [41] Thus, X tries to ensure simultaneous arrival, on every matter since the area from which guests are invited extends from the Nass River to Alsea Bay.

The mysterious and sacred nature of the potlatch is impressed on the minds of the uninitiated at the time of departure. When the chief who is to bear the invitation, and the members of the crew are ready in the canoe at the launch, there is heard from X's house the sound of a whistle. The uninitiated, unaware of the method by which the noise is produced, consider it to be the voice of some supernatural being connected with the potlatch. Either the manager himself, or some assistant with him, blows a whistle. This can be done without exposing the method by putting the whistle to the lips under cover of a large blanket. When this has sounded the canoe is free to proceed.

[532] The manager-chief carries with him his *am-ah* mask, which he dons if he sees another canoe approaching, while eagle down is scattered over the heads of the paddlers. These two signs indicate that the occupants of the craft are on ceremonial business, therefore must not be initiated. For a considerable distance up and down the coast the sacred nature of

[72]

RACE

209

the postcard is recognized to such an extent that an attack upon anyone is unthinkable, though one or two myths recount how this unwritten law was violated on rare occasions. A canoe meeting postcard messengers were over to the other side of the channel to give them the right of way.

On reaching the destination the canoe is brought as close to shore until the inhabitants of the village have gathered on the beach, which they swiftly do on the arrival of strangers. The messenger sounds his whistle, the significance of which is fully understood by members of the canoe society. Any chief who wishes to show his wealth and importance will invite them to his house. As they are landing, he sends a herald to summon a number of influential people of his village, who seat themselves in their rightful places. As the messengers enter they are given seats on the beach behind the fire, the spot usually reserved for chiefs. A number of lads are called in to meet smoked salmon, and when this has been done the fish are broken into chunks by young girls and served to the messengers on a mat, in lieu of a table-cloth. The envoys do not deliver their message as soon as they arrive. On the contrary, they spend the rest of the day simulating talking with their hosts, and sleep in the house where they have been received.

The following day likewise passes without ceremony, but towards nightfall the host summons all his fellow-villagers to his house. The singers take up their customary places and beat out a *kaniet* tune. Upon hearing his or her air, the owner of it starts to dance. Using their own discretion, the singers beat out the tunes of *kaniet* after *kaniet*, and each dances. In like fashion the singers beat out *kaniet* songs, and the owner of each dances. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the dances are merely of a ceremonial, not a sacred, nature. When all have danced, each gives a present to the envoys. These gifts are not returnable. They are merely "eagle down," but it is necessary that something be given to validate the dances. The value is immaterial, so far as the purpose is concerned, though a chief who wishes to exhibit his chief-like

203
556
[484]
[726]

[575]

[262]

203
535
556

203
* 552
[535]
[531] nature will try to bestow a valuable present. If a man is too poor to give anything, he can avoid the obligation by not dancing when his tune is beaten out. The presents are piled together, and then the host, aided by several important chiefs, distributes them to the messengers, at the same time making laudatory speeches. The chief of the envoys receives more than the members of his crew.

Then the messenger-chief stands up and announces the names of those whom X has invited to his potlatch, using in each case the ancestral designation of the person summoned. Then the envoys, in a body, go to every house in the village. Probably all to be invited are present in the house of the chief, yet the messenger-chief must call out in the doorway of each house:

"Chief So-and-so, prepare your paddles and leave to-morrow."

[551] Early next morning the messengers rouse those whom they have invited and, as a mark of respect, help them to carry their goods to the canoes. There is an attitude of shaming combined with that of deference, since those assisted will have been placed under obligations. They also take to their canoes their own recently acquired goods. Envoys and guests set out together in their respective craft, and only separate as they near Bella Coola.

ARRIVAL OF THE GUESTS

* 556
575 While the canoes containing the first party of guests remain at anchor to wait for high tide, the envoys proceed at once to X's house, now completely redecorated if not entirely rebuilt. Here a huge fire is blazing, and members of the *Susat* society are passing in and out, making ready for the ceremony. Both [302] men and women beautify themselves by painting their faces in any designs they fancy, and by combing their hair and placing eagle down upon it. The guests at anchor lay planks [535] across their canoes so as to form a dancing platform. Then, as the tide rises, the singers in the house beat out the tune of

RANK

217

grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names which have already been announced and validated among the Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the *susok* name of one of the initiates.

536*
575
553

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds repeat the new name with the usual badinage, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the *susok* name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings.

[203]•

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, as olachen grease and cranberries are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to beat out an ancient song of the type known as *xe-tla*. Each of these has been handed down from the distant past, when some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his

556*
264
[252][415]
[532]533
556*
[171]

533 earliest structure, and the rest is commonly grandiloquently
536 phrased.²⁰ Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to
[171] suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words
for an old tune. As they sing, they are aided by some of X's
[522] friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door.
They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his eyes
to add dignity to the rites.

203 After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is
522 much practical joking with the heralds.

* 556 "Don't you want some food?" X calls to one of them.

Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containing
the liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle that the mass is spec-
tered over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succumb
in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he
is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with
laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing-
stock for the visitors.

* 556 During the afternoon X's wife and the members of her
583 family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to
"re-buy" her from her husband. These are called "washing
material," as if they supplied X with wash-basin and toilet
necessities. The speaker orates how the wife has lived up to
her obligation in making this presentation, and how it will
clear the path for her children. These goods will later on be
distributed by X. They can be used for:

- (1) Repayment of potlatch debts, or
- (2) Making potlatch investments, or
- (3) Validating names, either *asas* or ancestral, for the
children of his relatives.

It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be
applied to validating *asas* names for any of X's own children,
because they have come from his wife's people and react to
the advantage of her children in any case. These goods are

²⁰Though not to the same extent as among the Kwakiw where the words
may describe how the sky is supported on a child's shoulders, or how he has pushed
his head into the land above.

which is said to have come as a prospective dividend through marriage with a Swedish woman, were not obtained.

After the distribution of numerous presents comes the strengthening of X's seat.

His wife, aided by members of her family, has placed the necessary goods in readiness, though it is pretended they merely happen to be on hand. A herald takes his place near the door, and another behind the fire. Beside the latter stands a chief, attired in a second head-dress, who represents X. One of the heralds calls on this substitute to come forward, as if he were just entering the house, and shouts:

"There is no place for him to sit!"

Then he turns to X's wife, saying:

"See if you have not a few wifens in your room to strengthen him."

The word for "strengthen" is *akabata*, or *akabata*, which means, "darning up," as if X were waddling on his chief-like bear. The words have the other significance of "clothing." They represent the ethereal dignity wherewith a chief is garbed.

X's wife goes to her room, or to the place in the house where the goods are stored, and brings forth a large assortment of valuables, which are piled in a convenient spot. The substitute who is representing X then places himself in the latter's seat, which is to be made more solid by these goods. X's wife may tell the herald that they have still more goods for him, and in that case he calls out:

"His seat is too hard. Have you no soft cloths for it?"

The wife brings forward more goods to make her husband's seat more comfortable. The herald, who has been chosen for his fluency, uses his originality in what he calls for from the wife; soft cloths for the seat is merely an example. In some cases, many presents are given; at other times, if the wife and her family be poor, these are few and of little worth. It is not essential that foreign guests witness this establishment or strengthening of a seat, though their presence means that X's

CHAPTER 4

FEATURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE POTLATCH

*Herald—Guests—Feasts—Dances—Professional Performances—
Gift Giving—Miscellaneous Customs*

118
* 556 THE ritual of the potlatch is so complicated that, in order to present a coherent account of it, it has been necessary to omit entirely some features that occur at many potlatches, and to refer briefly to others. This chapter is devoted to an elaboration of those points, thus avoiding the use of lengthy footnotes in the preceding chapters.

HERALD

203
* 556 The principal functions of heralds have already been described. They go from house to house inviting the people to assemble for the different ceremonies connected with the potlatch, but that is only one of their many duties. They likewise have invitations to all types of ceremonies, such as marriages, mourning rites, or funeral dances; in fact, they act as town criers. A person holding any public rite requires one or more heralds to deliver the invitation which is repeated in every house of the village in order from house to house.¹

574
628
576 There are variations, of course, according to the rites to be performed. At a potlatch, the first duty of a herald is to seat the guests in their proper places. This requires not only a good memory, but also considerable tact, since errors with foreign guests cause friction and embarrassment, and diminish the prestige of the whole ceremony. During the actual progress of the rites, a herald must constantly add dignity to the occa-

¹ Herald, *ah'*, plural, *nah'-ah*, not to be confused with *ahk*, the name of a deity (I, p. 978).

This order may once have had a ceremonial significance but it has been considered for a long time merely a matter of convenience. When giving presents also, a man follows the same order in his mind and names first the recipients of the barren house, thus maintaining the danger of overlooking a guest.

THE CHIEF OF POLICE, NEW YORK, APRIL 1900, RECEIVED

and by expressing kindly a few words, or even silence, from the speaker being delivered, or calling on the audience to assist when has just been said and so forth attentively. A chief must usually be prepared in such interrogations, but the State Court consider these evidences of attentiveness.

The making of comments is a duty performed in many cases of necessity, but it is intelligible in particular, when a chief depends on the herald to emphasize and explain the points of his family history which are being displayed. One intelligent man heard that function as a company, constantly guiding the course of conversation. Without a herald a chief would be as useless as a ship without a compass with no land to see. Although the principal duty of herald is to read the orders of a chief, they are, and are expected to, decide on what to do to carry out the necessary requirements. Cases have occurred in which influential men have so far forgotten their function of generosity as to fail to lower their fellows after killing a deer or other large animal; or women have declined to show their abundant harvest. Nothing is said in the time, but often when the people have come together for some ceremony, a herald calls to the attention of the chief a dignified that everyone is aware of his meaning. This public officials know the privilege of a chief to such an extent that he is careful not to offend again. Not many years ago, a certain Kinsman chief failed to ask others to show some mountain goats which he had killed; at the first opportunity a herald suffered on himself on Yaki Mountain Goat, and all present realized that he was really alluding to the one who had been remiss.

Heralds must exercise care in their sentences at the expense of chiefs because, unless public opinion is with them, the point of the remark is lost, and they expose themselves to the wrath of the person offended. Nevertheless, heralds always strive to cause merriment, and often take risks with this aim in view. They try to make humorous remarks, and also to cause amusement by their antics. As already described, the dinner of a potlatch may throw to one of them a dish containing liquid food

209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236
237
238
239
240
241
242
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264
265
266
267
268
269
270
271
272
273
274
275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488
489
490
491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539
540
541
542
543
544
545
546
547
548
549
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
560
561
562
563
564
565
566
567
568
569
570
571
572
573
574
575
576
577
578
579
580
581
582
583
584
585
586
587
588
589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637
638
639
640
641
642
643
644
645
646
647
648
649
650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
789
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
840
841
842
843
844
845
846
847
848
849
850
851
852
853
854
855
856
857
858
859
860
861
862
863
864
865
866
867
868
869
870
871
872
873
874
875
876
877
878
879
880
881
882
883
884
885
886
887
888
889
890
891
892
893
894
895
896
897
898
899
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
940
941
942
943
944
945
946
947
948
949
950
951
952
953
954
955
956
957
958
959
960
961
962
963
964
965
966
967
968
969
970
971
972
973
974
975
976
977
978
979
980
981
982
983
984
985
986
987
988
989
990
991
992
993
994
995
996
997
998
999
1000

Though one of a herald's duties is to act as buffoon, his position is only very slightly derogatory. In the beginning of time, Hawaii himself did not hesitate to act in this capacity on many occasions. But since, the post has usually been occupied by relatives of chiefs, especially by those who are unable to give satisfaction. In some cases the position is sought by ambitious young men, willing to endure the slight loss of dignity to the ancients. Since the basic principle of every Polynesian ceremony is that the donor must recompense those who have assisted him, heralds are always lavishly rewarded. In particular, chiefly remember their dependence upon the heralds, and shower presents upon them. One who has allowed himself to be spattered with liquid food to amuse the guests, is actually compensated, but in any case he receives presents for announcing and seating the guests and for interpreting the speeches. The same principle holds good in all other ceremonies. An elderly informant related that once in his younger days he had been dancing a *haka* dance, when one herald remarked that the ground on which he was dancing was dirty, meaning, that it had not been made clean by the distribution of sufficient presents to justify his dance. His master at once gave the heralds two muskets, valuable articles in those days, to clear her son's path. These belonged to the informant, who knew nothing about the transaction until it had been completed, but he accepted as a matter of course the necessity of giving presents to heralds. If the seat on which a chief is sitting should break, presents must be given to heralds, and if a *haka* should fall when a herald is watching, the latter receives gifts. At the marriage of a chief's son, a herald can claim and remove any of the clothing of the bridegroom or his associates. Above all other occasions, when a young chief is

622
515

ESTABLISHED CONSCIOUSLY WITH THE PEOPLE OF THE

first established on his own, he must named the heralds heralds for their names.

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Conle marks the origin of heralds to the wish of *Algonquin* as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early nations brought with them heralds whose names had been conveyed by the ancestors during himself in his time in the land above. Such a one was *Spig's* who was a member of *Kom-ee's* (I, p. 345) party at *Kinaguit*, another was *Chidimas* who came with *Chidimas* (I, p. 345). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of today; others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their relations to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *honor* men in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first nations became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Conle state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first nameake.

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their

203
356 *203
443
351

[428]

203
553
556 v
614
424

223
553
+ 556
648
[424]

position. Since the law, one of their prime prerogatives, the visible acknowledgment of an element in their ancestral right, is no longer present. In such circumstances, an element of an ancestral family would give a posthumous notice able to survive as to the element came in a new family. The attending donor usually consults with the entire members of the ancestral family as to a suitable beneficiary, or especially if he is an influential chief, he may simply use his own discretion. In either case, some relatively young member of the ancestral family is offered the post. If he accepts, the success is assured; if not, another is invited to his stead. The new family cannot function until his name and appointment have been validated by the distribution of presents to the posthumous. Such gifts are not ceremonial, since they are held to "have become nothing" for the donee. Relatively lavish expenditures for this purpose is one of the many ways in which a chief is able to show his prowess and generosity. Thus constituted, a herald can carry out his divine functions. The functions of every ceremonial, but especially at posthumous given by members of his own ancestral family, in whose origin with his own name is embodied. From moment participation in all kinds of ceremonies, a herald becomes conversant with every type, and is appealed to as arbiter in difficult points of ritual, thus adding to his reputation.

[627]
[498]

203
+ 556

Although acceptance of the post of herald somewhat curtails a man's activities in other respects, instances are known of energetic men using the gifts received to establish themselves as chiefs, passing on their herald names at the same time to other incumbents. More often, a herald uses his wealth for the benefit of a son or other relative, being satisfied with his own status in the community. He takes a prominent part in every ceremony and is a person of some standing, yet is spared the responsibility of actually giving rites himself, a position which offers many attractions to a man lacking great ambition and initiative.

THE SINGERS OF THE SONGS

and then also was not. They all provided that to the singer
 food for a week, not call to his neighbors, but the one who
 usually does so to a new singer has received his share a year or
 two before the occasion.

It has been before the time referred, the host who the
 singers to compose a new song for him. He is a regular dancer
 particularly, and in some cases for any one of the other three
 divisions of the society. He was then not that with incidents
 connected with the host's personal story, but with humorous
 or disagreeable incidents of the present time. If a new line
 caught the attention and kept them all for himself, his audience
 is commended upon in the song. If a wife has divorced her
 husband for another man, the actions of the two are necessarily
 ridiculed; if a child has failed to display generosity it is like-
 wise recorded, and reference is made to women in dance ritual.
 To do this is one of the functions of a singer, and the singers
 are always ready to assist him. In the same time they often
 add a new incident to the song belonging to some other s'alt
 dancer so that he too will be able to perform. In this way the
 song are considered from year to year, which is different from
 the customary Balla Caste songs.

On the morning of the day chosen, the host calls one of the
 singers to host a dance especially but slowly, as a signal that
 a new ceremonial dance is about to take place. About noon,
 friends go from house to house announcing who is to give the
 dance. In the late afternoon the people gather in the donor's
 house where men, women, and children meet themselves with-
 out distinction of rank, the only reserved place being that for
 the singers behind the fire. They beat out the host's tune and
 he dances to it, while the singers themselves sing the words to
 the amusement of the audience. Using their own discretion,
 they then beat out the tune of another s'alt and he also dances,
 followed in succession by a third, a fourth, and as many as
 the singers think fit. Sometimes the songs of a new are used
 in a similar manner. When many have danced, the host dis-
 tributes food to all his guests, not forgetting to give the largest

576
575
574

575
574
573
572
571

203
202

532 of each song chosen to it. Everyone who has enough food to
533 provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbors to such
534 an affair, but the singers and dancers can have a strong sense
of all as one. Everyone knows his neighbors' resources and
the singers know as limitation is going to the house of a man
with no single supply of food and beginning to lose his strength.
The families are quick to see when a neighboring man
and all the people with the small that the neighbors have a
compelled to provide a meal to make us to be thought more
and useful. Without waiting for the singers to take the
initiative, families themselves often invite people to the house of
a man when they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of having a supply of
certain foods is impossible to hold every dinner, although one
of the most common ways just described when there is a full
house is a full is the fulling. In the early autumn, when
corn, fish, and game are abundant, the thought of chief
to perfection and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. In the
autumn, then, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign
guests, calls to his neighbors for a small dance and invites
some of his young relations into their company. The ritual,
described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch
except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of
a dead relation, and the communal commenced with the coming
of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief
performs this type of dance a year before he proposes to hold a
potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be
unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village
at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with
interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in
time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his
potlatch.

575 Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during
535 the early autumn, while in winter burial dances take place
almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-
sacred variety of a'alt performances, and for another type of
rite, *nusâxK'ing*.

Marriage customs

Y's family decide when the period of engagement shall be continued. Although it is considered unimportant for X or his relatives to leave them in this matter, there is always a certain amount of urging. Y's father has strong reasons for procrastination. A long engagement strengthens the union of the children whom his daughter may love, and hence, he frequently receives presents from X's relatives. In Y's opinion will have to bear the heavier part of the expense of the wedding, it seems to be necessary for them to delay it for years while saving the necessary funds. The ceremony may take place at any time of the year. Foreign guests are occasionally invited, but usually only the members of X's and Y's village are present. At the marriage feast the guests are present on one part. When Y's relatives decide that they are ready, they choose the actual day after consultation with X's family, though the assumption is that Y's father usually informs X's father of the date.

It is important to X's family to produce the feast on the day preceding the ceremony. In the late afternoon his father sends a herald through the village calling out:

"Gaiway, ye chih! Gaiway, ye wien of chih! Gaiway, ye wien wien!"

The actual meaning of gaiway is unknown, though it is well understood to be an invitation to gather for the announcement of a wedding. In conjunction with the ceremony, X's ancestral name is used, although all in the village are probably well aware of what is about to take place. It is noteworthy that at a marriage the guests, as well as the participants, are called by the ancestral name, as opposed to the family ones by which individuals who own such are generally known. Red coloring is much in evidence at weddings; heralds wear their faces with red paint and the guests similarly tint themselves. They wear collars, wristlets, and sashlets of undyed cedar bark, and cover themselves with eagle down.

585 In the gathering dusk all assemble in X's house; Y's collection arrived as late as they wish. X's father would feel insulted if anyone else should stay away without a valid excuse, but in point of fact everyone is eager for an evening's entertainment. The singers take their accustomed places behind the fire and the guests arrange themselves in the house without ceremony to each. The musician strikes up the *harist* song of anyone present, and the guests as indicated dancers. The first tune used is frequently that of X's father, and then that of his mother, but there is no fixed rule about this. The singers alternate and last out tune after tune, and guest after guest dances, but, since some of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is of a non-secular nature. After exhausting the most popular *harist* songs, the musician last out the most songs of many of the guests who, in succession, dance to them; the songs of shamans are used in like fashion. Sometimes the singers continue until everyone present has danced, at other times they curtail the ceremony, as they think fit. When they decide to stop, they intimate this to X's father, who superintends the distribution to the guests of whatever kind of food has been provided.

537 During the meal, a fluent speaker stands up and expounds
585 on behalf of X's father the ancestral myth in which his son's
[203] ancestral name is embodied. Sometimes X's father acts as his own orator, but usually a herald is called upon. Only sufficient details are given to show the importance of X. The myth may either be one of the most ancient type dealing with the first settlement of this earth, or one of later date describing the exploits of X's famous ancestors; but in either case, as shown by the examples given in the last chapter, each contains an account of a marriage. It is always known, although not generally described, that at each of these several dances performed, their number varying between two and eighteen. The orator, when outlining the myth, stresses this part of it, and always announces how many danced at that time; with the statement that there will be a like number on the morrow. In

them, taking as insignificant a part as X does in the whole affair. As the singers start the marriage song, some of X's relatives carry into Y's house a part of the goods which X's relatives have assembled for the occasion, deposit them on the floor near the door, and then withdraw. These goods are said, "to occupy the house." Long ago they are said to have been of great value, though nowadays small presents are considered ample. Any member of Y's family can accept one by picking it from the floor, but as he is expected to return the gift with something of greater value, sometimes nothing is taken. Should none of his relatives appear willing to do so, it devolves on Y's father to accept the present.

When the marriage song has ended, X's father gives to some strong youth narrow strips of goat-skin with the wool still attached. Carrying these in one hand the young man runs up and down the sidewalk, waving his arms, and at intervals throwing one of the strips into the air, away from himself. All the younger people of the village pursue him, and a wild scramble takes place for each strip. Sometimes, instead of running up and down, the toasting is done in a clear space near Y's house. Only the sons of important chiefs are prohibited from this sport, since it is thought to be beneath their dignity. It is an animated scene, in which the participants thoroughly enjoy themselves. Heralds have the right to ask any dancer for his clothing, and unless he is willing to lose this, he must give a present to the one who has demanded it. This is a constant source of amusement to the onlookers. Nothing is known of the origin or meaning of the wholesale giving away of strips of goat-skin, nor why the heralds should be able to demand clothing on this occasion.

"It has always been done," the Bella Coola say simply.

When the noise has somewhat subsided, the singers again beat out the time of the marriage song, and again the dancers begin to perform. Y's father then sends out one of his male relatives, with gifts, "to stop the dance." The bearer gives a present to one of the dancers, who ceases his gyrations, then

184

THE BELL BELL

184
575
776
225
678

but some of members of the fact, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived.

Thereafter go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent villages as well, inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *nasé* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble in ones, twos, threes, or more, and sing in the *nasé* manner. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tresses of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a man or woman near the

537
538
575
766

fire who is also a flower speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, naming *Makabala*, has come to visit the dead man, and how all should try to understand the song he has brought. A hidden *nasé* has been blowing a whistle incessantly, and the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of postiches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practiced and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *nasé* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *nasé* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

¹The *Bella Bella* are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Makabala*, heralded by whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *nasé* rites.

[184]

DEATH

100

body became single dress and was washed separately in preparation of the case which might come to hand for a view of this kind. If the circumstances of the person to whom this had happened had deteriorated the method of subsequent death, a certain recognition to the case had described would have arisen.

575
576
577
[773]

DEATH, AS IT WAS

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rites just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be deferred until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the extended family take part, though the widow of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Hindu Caste ritual, an influential chief often overrides the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased.

764

[790]
[554]

Heralds announce the hour chosen,* usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women weep dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially

[205]
[209]

*This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the night.

[778]

010.000

177

then, the Bulla Coast men again had to carry out as a single gathering function which properly belonged to several. To maintain the memorial potlatch with the potlatch, being a custom as an earlier custom, presented no serious difficulties and was consequently widely adopted. The Kwakwaka'wakw people, however, were never as fully adopted the Bulla Bulla differentiation, and as the rapid decrease in population drove them to ever closer contact with the Bulla Coast, their influence tended to lessen differences between the two communities.

At the present time, a memorial potlatch is almost identical with an ordinary potlatch in practice. The same rules are often carried out as both; each varies considerably, and when the distinctive elements are omitted the two become indistinguishable. None the less, they are never confused in the minds of the participants. The house where a potlatch, *am*, is taking place is called a *madam*, that where a memorial potlatch, *amant*, is occurring, a *madamant*. In giving invitations and making comments, heralds are careful not to refer to the ritual under the wrong name; in fact, it may be said that the chief difference between the two is in the minds of the donor and his guests. Sociologically, both are considered to be on a par. Equal wealth is required, and each can be performed only by a chief, both on account of the expenditure involved and owing to the difficulties in procedure which are thought to be too great for a lesser man to surmount.

Difference in the donor's motives is usually sufficient to separate a memorial potlatch from an ordinary one. The latter is given by a chief desirous of increasing his prestige by lavish expenditure, for which one of the excuses is the validation of the appearance of a dead relative. Although this is the central feature, so many other rites are performed that it is sometimes obscured or may, indeed, be omitted entirely. On the other hand, a memorial potlatch occurs as soon as possible after the death of a father, mother, or other dearly loved kinman, and it is clear to all that the donor's reasons for the rite are to commemorate the deceased, and to console himself and his imme-

177
556*
769

556*
769

[203]

[222]

[222]

DEATH

467

Such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Bella Bella myth and the song in question had been used to mourn a real or fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the tone or words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family.

The actual delivering of invitations by the envoys to the desired guests does not differ from the manner already described, except that they are asked "to come to visit the sick [donor]. The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests at a memorial potlatch always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads.

On arrival, the first party of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the heralds. An elderly Bella Coola chief who is a famous orator has been asked by the donor to speak, and he rises to do so as soon as his fellow-villagers have entered and taken their places. No set phrases are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in *Narmat-s*, and how all must return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant references to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in mythology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased were an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, *nudak-an*, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The orator states that he has fallen, using the term *peyās*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He speaks of a young chief as *sxu²llāmkis*, short-lived, a person who has been hunted down by the supernatural Carpenters. He continues by sketching the works of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief, and of how this "sickness" has been all:-

556*
769
[533]
[177]
[203]

[292]

537
556*
769

[195]

DEATH

477

of Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her crests of which the masks were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow⁷⁶⁴ was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben wanted to sing a *asasé* mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band⁷⁶⁹ should play. Reuben informed his father that he would contribute \$60 towards the expenditure. ^{556*}
[533]

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by female friends, clad in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without heeding others similarly engaged. The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging-camps without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail. ⁷⁶⁴
[203]●

Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on vol. I, p. 473. He was grave and dignified, absolutely determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary ritual, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what he held to be an unjust law. During that summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is ⁷⁶⁹
[273]

⁷⁶⁴He was not closely related to the Schooners.

⁷⁶⁹Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white men's music on white men's instruments. Andy Schooner was headman, but it is unlikely that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was customary at funerals when the victim was in Bella Coola. ⁷⁷⁶

DEATH

479

life did not alter the necessity of rebuying her "to make good the path" of her children. For this purpose they decided to give a copper and a sum of money; it was impossible to learn the exact amount. Joe told Captain Schooner of their intention. 764
159
[583]

About noon the body was brought in a canoe from the cannery in its closed coffin and lifted ashore at a convenient spot near the cemetery. Those manning the canoe were young men who happened to be at the cannery, irrespective of whether or not they were related to Jessie. The coffin was laid on a grassy place and Captain Schooner seated himself beside it. People were passing and repassing, some sat down for a time, then moved off to dinner. Occasionally, a woman would sit and wail, the most constant being Reuben's married daughter; Captain Schooner moved around talking to his friends amidst the eerie wailing. About 1.30 P.M. everyone in the village had assembled, including a number of Carrier Indians, anxious to see the sight. Captain Schooner withdrew to his house after asking Bobby Nebby to summon the chiefs to meet him there. The messenger, who thus acted as herald, went around the gathering whispering to each; in addition to those notified at the cannery the preceding evening he called all the older and most influential Bella Coola, Albert King, Samuel King, Joe Williams, Joshua Moody, Alec Davis, Lane Charlie, Judas, and Nebuchadnezzar. Captain Schooner requested the last named, an important chief, to take charge of the ceremony. At this time Samuel King told Nebuchadnezzar, who informed the others, what had been arranged for his daughter and they agreed that it was good. It was tacitly assumed that George Nelson would be delighted; probably he had been on friendly terms with the girl for some time. Joe Williams also told Nebuchadnezzar the two business propositions that he intended to carry out, the return of the money to Captain Schooner, and the rebuying of his daughter. Nebuchadnezzar informed the people concerned. At this meeting it was decided that various chiefs should speak after the Christian service at the grave. [203] ●
[584]
[587]

DEATH

481

was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a branch brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old houses near-by, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Judas, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jessie, telling her not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, and thence to ascend to *Namita*. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "Ye-" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential *Kimsquit* and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be downhearted, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of *Alpenin*."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In *George* are buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech.

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the

764

159

533

747

764

159

537

[126]

764

159

203

764

556

764 older Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner,
 159 with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch
 [203] that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald
 [769] but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified
 [554] heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the
 people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their
 attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a
 funeral, and the hilarity that characterizes so many
 [852] Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the
 playing children. By 4.30 p.m. all had left the scene.

In view of the large number of guests expected it had been
 769 decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-
 556 fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the
 [344] white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging
 [854] gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided
 by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other.
 [533] About 6.30 p.m. the singers, Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard,
 Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimaquit Alec, and Robert Hood,
 gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage.
 Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day,
 Kimaquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others
 that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised
 these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola
 strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again.

Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of
 the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought
 264 \$10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed
 769 beside a huge iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-
 556 Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to
 act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 p.m. the people began to assemble, bringing
 their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay
 and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating
 themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two
 side walls and massed at the rear. By mutual consent a por-
 tion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

RELATIONS WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

365

type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions were common; although curing shamans were rare. 756*
556

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion of the *harist* season, though one is sometimes held prior to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen. [796]

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers undoubtedly employ songs used by shaman ancestors which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer persuades himself that he has received supernatural authorization. 533
756*
556

The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will treasure a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impossible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman, soon convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition. [195]

Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance, but it is not customary to voice these. The singers repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose further songs themselves for the performer. During the practicing, those who are not *kukusiut* are expelled from the house. [553]

A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, therefore, support him during his rite.* A herald is sent out [183]

*Theoretically, a shaman need not be a *harist*, but visitations usually come only to those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of men already members of the society. 756*
556
[575]
[203]

* 756 to make known to all that there will be a dance on the follow-
 556 ing day, using the name of the shaman. After such announce-
 [203] ment, it would be most unusual for anyone to think of leaving
 a village until after the performance.

Towards dusk on the appointed day the people are sum-
 moned to the house of the shaman. Near the door are seated
 those who are not initiated *kukusiut*; in the inner part of the
 house are members of the society, with the singers in their
 533 accustomed places behind the fire. The shaman stands alone
 535 between the fire and the door and sings one of his songs, the
 * 756 time being marked by the words alone. Then he dances, his
 556 wrists shaking, his head rolling from side to side, and his feet
 marking time to the beating of sticks, as the singers accompany
 the singing of his song. If more than one song has been com-
 posed he dances to each, always accompanied by other sha-
 mans and by them alone. The shaman's costume consists of

[292] the usual blanket, and eagle down is scattered in his hair, with
 the additional and distinctive mark of intertwined dyed, and
 undyed, cedar-bark. After every song, the singers beat time
 very rapidly, too rapidly for the dancer to keep pace with it,
 so he merely sways backwards and forwards shaking his hands
 violently. Then the shaman, assisted by a few friends whom
 he has chosen for the purpose, performs a conjuring feat to
 * 756 impress the uninitiated. The *kukusiut* realize that this may
 556 be merely a deception, but since real shamans perform some-
 thing of the same nature, there is always the possibility that
 it may be genuine. The shaman may choose some feat which
 he has seen some old shaman perform, or he may use something
 which he has seen in a dream; or rely purely on his own inven-
 tive ability, aided, as he always is, by carpenters. The method
 of carrying out each trick is carefully guarded, with the result
 that it was impossible to obtain information about more than
 a few. After the conjuring act, the shaman gives food to all,
 followed by presents. If it is the first time that he has given

*This fast beating of time is called *ahd*; it occurs only in shaman and social
 dances.

539 one used by some of Trika's ancestors. It was brought to the ocean and
754 thrown in.

TABOOS

784 The Bella Coola regard as taboos those injunctions that are observed in the belief that their neglect would cause automatic punishment. The mechanism of enforcement is frequently not understood; it is enough to know that an unpleasant result would follow disobedience. Some taboos are in force at all times, others only during certain seasons of the year, and still others at critical periods of life. Since the psychology of such beliefs is essentially magical rather than religious, they could justifiably be grouped at this point. Unfortunately, to do so would destroy the continuity of accounts of birth, adolescence, death, ceremonial chastity, and many other aspects of Bella Coola life subject to taboo. The injunctions enforced by the River Guardian, the restrictions observed by a girl after puberty, the continence required after different medicines, all are taboos, disregard of which brings certain punishment. These and many others have already been described in connection with the activities to which they pertain. It is doubtful whether the Bella Coola have a single word to describe taboos [789] in general, though they are all regarded as *saxidax*, that is, as something which is ceremonially unclean.

Scarcely to be distinguished from taboos are ceremonial errors, *yan-imut* or *kān-imut*. Failure to give presents to heralds when a seat breaks beneath a chief or a dancer stumbles, or unnecessary activity during the year's waiting for the fruition of supernatural good fortune are ritual mistakes of this type. Neglect of such regulations brings punishment, though of a lesser kind than the breaking of taboos. If the error has been in connection with a ceremony, the offence can [688] be wiped out by presents to heralds, and the terms *yan-imut* and *kān-imut* are likewise applied to some of their prerogatives [203] such as the ability to claim clothing during the marriage of a chief's child.

Most taboos and errors can best be described with other

* 575
688 Frequently the marshals and associated *kukusiut* depute others to act as their executioners. Sometimes a shaman who is also a *kusiut* is asked to slay the offender, or a *kusiut* in whose ancestral family a knowledge of means for secret murder has been handed down for generations may be called upon. The executioner is told that if he fails he will himself be killed. Although no Bella Coola would admit that a person so charged had committed murder by other than magical means, it appears highly probable that such was the case. It is believed that long ago the *kukusiut* were able to kill an offending uninitiated person by drawing forth his spirit, wrapping it in undyed cedar-bark and casting it into the fire. The victim would die within a short time.

[761]
[754]
* 575
• 203
628 The desire to carry out *kusiut* ceremonials with proper dignity and ritual not only acts as a strong bond of union among members of the society in a single village, but between those in different towns and even in different tribes. When a marshal has struck a *kusiut*, the ceremony, whatever it may be, is at once stopped. Two *kukusiut* are sent off to bear the tidings to the nearest village up the valley, and two more to the one below. The messengers go beneath the house in which a dance is taking place and knock on the floor of the back-room. Someone presently hears them and a *kusiut* goes out to investigate. When the envoys have told their tale he returns, whispers to the singers, and the ceremony concludes for that night. As soon as the uninitiated, if any are present, have been ejected, the messengers enter with blankets almost covering their faces and seat themselves between the fire and the back-room where the senior members crowd around to listen. From this village two more *kukusiut* are despatched with the news which is thus transmitted with remarkable speed from end to end of the valley. When next the marshals are admonishing the *kukusiut* of their respective villages, they do not fail to draw attention to the way in which the law has been upheld. Conversely, if a marshal hears indirectly that there has been a flaw in the ritual of a neighbouring village,

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

19

he beats in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that the name of the marshal in the town where the error took place may be blackened unless he does better.

As an individual *kusiat* who errs is punished by a marshal, so is punishment meted out to the members of a village in which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters are fire, causing concealed *kukusiat* to appear among the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of lashed canoes which are used in some of the performances. The obvious effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *kusiat* society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli* for any village which wishes to attack the one where the disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious. Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The marshals, aided by any other influential *kukusiat*, discuss the matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to take part, though they are told only that the foray is connected with the rites of the *kusiat* society which increases rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers, knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last century *Staw* attacked *Alpallat*; the assailants were aided by a number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not the case when the assault is caused by error in *kusiat* or *sasak* ceremonial.

Now is punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out

575^{*}
628
209 ●

575^{*}
628
688
721

[727]
[567]

[648]

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

25

The first night is *tuatālele* or *tuatāmema*.⁵ This is when the call comes to a prospective dancer. This may be heralded by whistling from above, made by a *kūsiat* sent with a whistle to a neighbouring mountain for the purpose, by a thud on the roof, likewise produced by an accomplice, or by no intimation whatever. The dancer utters a low call, sometimes begins to walk in circles with bent head, or to act in some other peculiar manner, while a whistle sounds repeatedly. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house and a herald informs the village that something strange has come upon the dancer. The *kūsiat* gather in his house, and four times help him by the frenzied, but regular, beating of sticks. Then the singers sing a song previously prepared, the words describing either his patron or the land above. After listening closely, the *kūsiat* join in and rehearse it until it is familiar. The dancer may or may not perform; if he is inept in the steps, he does so for practice. If the hour is not too late, the singers may choose, purely for practice, to beat out a number of the songs of those *kūsiat* who have already performed during the ceremonial season. A meal, provided by the dancer and his family, is then served. The singers next beat out the dancer's song once more and he dances, concluding the evening's performance. Novices and those who have already performed during the season take up their abode in the dancer's house, where they remain for the ensuing four days and nights.

The second day is *nūsiatārap*.⁶ Quite early in the morning a herald calls the *kūsiat* to the dancer's house, an invitation accepted by as many as wish to do so. A second song is usually composed and practised in the same manner as on the previous evening. Several *kūsiat* are sent to the forest to cut wood for masks, the number of sections required depending upon the number to be used. In the evening all members of the society assemble to practise the songs.⁷ The making of the masks

⁵In Kinohiti called *tuatāmema*.

⁶The term *pa'anga* is occasionally used for the rites occurring on the day itself.

⁷The rehearsal of the songs is sometimes postponed until this time.

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

29

perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *kusiut* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kukusiutek*. Whenever strangers are present at a *kusiut* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *kusiut* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kusiut* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *gothum* and *nebusam* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the outwitted herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

575*

609

796

[123]

[177]

[556]

[431]

[556]

[431]

[556]

[431]

[556]

[431]

[556]

[431]

[556]

[431]

[556]

[431]

[556]

[431]

[556]

[431]

[556]

[431]

[556]

[431]

[556]

[431]

[556]

*575 sively when the villages in which the dances are taking place
203 are adjacent or separated by such a short distance that envoys
cannot meet *en route*.

*575 A word may be said about the attitude of the Bella Coola
177 to the dances of other coastal tribes. They know that the
829 Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, Kwakiutl, and Kitkatla people have
[648] *kusiut* societies, but until recently their members were con-
sidered to be uninitiated, as Bella Coola were when they visited
foreign tribes.* A few years ago the Bella Coola, Bella Bella,
and Rivers Inlet people decided that their rites were sufficiently
akin to permit membership in one tribe to carry with it mem-
bership in the others:

"We have now one repository," they say.

This development is due to ease of communication and
diminution of population in the three tribes. None the less,
the Bella Coola recognize differences between their own rites
and those of their neighbours. They say that no other tribe
[17] has repositories; also that in the other tribes the *kusiut* society
is more intimately connected with the chiefs, in fact, that in
Bella Bella and Fort Rupert the Cannibals are the chiefs,
whereas in Bella Coola even a poor man, unimportant in every
other respect, can be one.

*575 Theorization is out of place in a descriptive monograph
177 such as this, but the writer gives it as his personal opinion that
[796] the Bella Coola have adopted much, if not all, of the *kusiut*
ceremonial from other coastal tribes, though they have pro-
foundly altered it in respect to certain ancient beliefs connected
with localized guardian spirits and the patrons of ancestral
families. He further believes that it will be found that this
Bella Coola technique has in its turn affected the Bella Bella
and Rivers Inlet Indians. There seems little doubt that the
[17] Bella Coola are correct in saying that the society is more im-
[796] portant among them than among their neighbours, and the
writer feels that dances and rituals of different types have cer-
tainly been adapted to the *kusiut* pattern of the Bella Coola.

*Except a few individuals who had inherited foreign prerogatives.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

33

The following morning the *kukusiut* alone are invited to X's house. The marshals meanwhile superintend the laying and lashing of planks across two river dug-outs to form a dancing platform. On this the singers take their places, in addition to as many *kukusiut* as can scramble aboard. The craft is slowly poled either up- or downstream, according to the direction of X's repository, and more *kukusiut* accompany it along the bank; the uninitiated watch with keen interest from the background. X and his companions proceed towards the river and on meeting the lashed-together canoes are taken aboard. The singers strike up any well known *kusiut* tune, and in time to it as many *kukusiut* as possible dance on the platform surmounting the craft. Each uses his own style of dancing according to his prerogative, so that the scene is strikingly varied and animated. X himself cowers in the centre, practically concealed from the uninitiated by the dancers. On reaching the village the whole party hurriedly runs to X's house, from which the uninitiated are rigorously barred for the rest of the day. Those *kukusiut* who accompanied the party along the bank of the river have preceded them and, as X enters, the droning cry is raised which always heralds the appearance of one who has been in close contact with supernatural beings. 575*
796
[535]

If X is considered trustworthy, he may be allowed to go alone to his repository, although this is only customary when he takes a second or third prerogative. If this procedure has been followed, X tells those present what he has seen; otherwise his companions do so. The uninitiated listen eagerly from the adjacent houses, wondering anxiously what is taking place. Several *kukusiut* blow, or use bellow-whistles to increase the awe of the hearers. Presently a herald is sent out. He goes first to the lowest house¹² of the village, then in succession to those above, announcing in each that: [535]
[424]

"Something strange has happened to the son of the chief," 201
575*
203
796

X's name is not mentioned; if his father is not a chief the

¹²That is, to the one farthest downstream. By always going to each house in order from bottom to top of the village the herald avoids any danger of omissions.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

34

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

* 575 call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal."
 ● 203 At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement,
 796 and towards nightfall goes around calling:

Skinap, skinap, kukusiast, "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief [or to the mortal]."

The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

‡ 575 In every village there are at least two *kukusiut* who have,
 791 embodied with their *kusiut* names, the professional prerogative
 796 of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the
 [424] ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a
 [773] revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the
 owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever-
 present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the
 dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction
 taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be trans-
 [425] mitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally
 happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and
suasá. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come
 forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it.

[302] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket,
 [292] decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his
 [237] shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an
 apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating
 sticks are distributed among most of the *kukusiut* who strike
 furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep
 time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3).² He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

² [see category 116, p 84(c) - ANALYST]

173 he lapsed into silence, knowing that the odds were too great for him.
 * 575 The Cannibal realized that if this powerful man could be initiated into
 578 their society he would be a source of strength, so he said:

"You are now an initiate of mine."

Xamxamlax understood that this meant he was to be initiated into the *kusiat* society. He agreed, but asked to be permitted to complete the a'alk dance which he was performing that evening, and to get beating sticks for which he had gone to the forest. The *kusiat* were only too willing to grant this dispensation in their joy at having a valuable recruit.

On his return to the village, Xamxamlax told his fellow a'alk that he was going to be a *kusiat* and they were greatly grieved at loss of their leader. That night they gave the dance which had been started and composed a song of which the theme was the way in which their rivals had fallen until their heads were upside down. The *kusiat*, mocked in this way, feared that this was a prelude to further trouble with the a'alk, but Xamxamlax duly carried out his promise and was enrolled as a *kusiat*. Bereft of their leader, many of his disconsolate associates were admitted as *kusiat*, and ever since that time there has been relatively little friction between the two societies. In due course the Cannibal gave his dance with a song describing how he had met a strange creature over whom he had prevailed; this was, of course, the uninitiated Xamxamlax.

• [203] To these two is attributed the origin of the practice of
 * [796] shoving to decide priority of invitation giving. It is said that both Xamxamlax and the Cannibal once wished to invite the people to a ceremony on the same evening and agreed to shove against each other to decide which should have preference. Xamxamlax prevailed, and the Cannibal duly postponed his dance and went with his associates to the winner's house.

[178] As before stated, stories of this kind dealing with the alleged history of the society are of slight value. As far as they go, they agree with other evidence pointing to the gradual growth of the *kusiat* society from a band of elders endowed with supernatural power to a society with enormous prestige, dominating the life of the community and entirely overshadowing the a'alk who seem once to have been their rivals.

288

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

*533

B *Saostatungmas* | *oldasutis* | *ska'atpadsulsdai* | *dismat-umgdjs*
Go within | my house, | I am giving food | to my friends.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

[614]
[424]
[685]
[609]

(a) Recorded as song VII D 28b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an ancestral family; they now regard it as a family possession and would consider its use by others to be stealing.

(b) Many years ago a solitary Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the mien of one, so that his hosts assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The mocking of foreigners is a common theme of *a'alk* songs.

am'le'a Song Used for Ximxumlaix(a)

*533
575
578

A *Nuimultukaranimquaisan* | *sizwasmaitila*
He has fallen so that his buttocks are uppermost, | Hail(b)!

Damunmuizan-imut | *skusiutdas*
He has come to hurt, | that *kusiut(c)*.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and C. The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) A mockingly deferential salutation used in *a'alk* songs describing the *kusiut*.

(c) *Ximxumlaix* was an *a'alk* who is said to have seen a Cannibal *kusiut* when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the above fragment has been remembered for many years. *Ximxumlaix* was initiated into the *kusiut* society; see vol. II, p. 265.

*533
575
796
● 203

As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the women utter a peculiar high-pitched drone and the heralds call out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record¹ was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either *susook* or *a'alk* dances. The following words are virtually sung:

Yelersalidimut | *stahumpaksis*
Do not err, | chiefs.

¹Recorded as song VII D 29c, National Museum of Canada.

628

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

*192

Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Lempe-iz* in the beginning of time.*Xemim*: *Kusint* name of a *Slyktut* man.*Xemxemalotla*: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.

2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.

Xemxemlaix: *Sussek* name brought from above in the beginning of time.*Xemxemim*: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalas* in the beginning of time.

[533]

ar-tla: Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.*Xadilkas*: One of the first men to settle at *Ladmlas* in the beginning of time.*Xelasa*: *Kusint* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.

[825]

yaga: Marten.

[412]

yila: Stone axe.

[203]

yulul: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.*Ximpdimut*: Man mentioned in an ancient story.*Ximxemlaix*: *Aalk* man mentioned in an ancient story.*Ximxemalotla*: Celebrated female shaman.

[821]

gungus-i, plural, *gungusoksi*: Little girl.

[517]

Xupmas: 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.

2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.

Xuxais: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.*Xuximán-a*, "Right Foot": *Stux* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.*Xyis*: Mountain in the Carrier country.*xemnáas*: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.*xlaxm*: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.*xlant*: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.

[586]

Xlikwals: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.*xluk-inut*: The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.

[825]

Xmasst: Locality below *Nusfalst*.

[601]

gmgmatst: Minnows.

[614]

gms: Woman, or wife in indirect address (*ai gmslax*: My wife).

[423]

gmsáas: Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.*gmsám* or *nugmsám*: The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.*Xnult*: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.*xult*: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.

[785]

Xolaxwam: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.

[831]

xaldjut: Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.*Xemtla*: Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.*Xemxempe*: Ancestral name of a *Stux* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.*Xemxetam*: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.*Xepallis*: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

2: McIlwraith

● 203

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

/For information on the role of "heralds" in the winter ceremonial dances of the kusiut society see category 116, pp. 41-241./

in this room. Then the host sends messengers to invite the people. They take staffs, and tie red cedar-bark round their heads, and go from house to house, singing, "Nayaxdets wa nontap'ontat' he!" ("I wish to find some one who understands the winter ceremonial.") This they repeat in every house. Then they return to the host's house, who sends them out again, ordering them to sing, "Qos'ah'ten tapan wa nontap'ontat' he!" ("I wish the dancers would wash their hands.") Again they return to his house. They are sent out once more with the message, "Xotsak'ontat' wa nontap'ontat' he!" ("I wish the dancers would make their hands tremble.") They return once more to the chief's house, and are sent out again with the message, "Tapanah'tets wa nontap'ontat' he!" ("I want the dancers to look at their hands.") Now the dancers are ready, and come to the house. Then E'acm arises and dances. He puts on a head-dress of birds' skins, ornamented with red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by women. Another man, who is called Naxxi'um, adorns himself with red cedar-bark. He carries in his right hand a small baton covered with red cedar-bark. In his left he carries a larger stick, on which he beats time with the small baton. He sits down, and now all the people enter. First of all, E'acm comes in, accompanied by many women. Naxxi'um begins to sing and to beat time, and E'acm shouts, "Oon!" E'acm walks around the fire, keeping it to his left and shaking his bark. Before he begins the circuit, he gives four jumps near the door. Four times he goes round the fire, and every time he reaches the door he gives four jumps. As soon as he does so, Naxxi'um beats time slowly. When E'acm has finished his dance, the people take him to a place near the door, and a woman sings near him. Naxxi'um, and the people join her, then she dances her winter dance. Before she quite finishes, the people make her stop, and another woman begins her dance. Naxxi'um beats time, and the other people join his song. The people make her stop again. Then a great many people perform their dances. Now E'acm appears again, crying, "Oon!" and Naxxi'um beats time. Again he jumps four times to the right and four times to the left when reaching the door. After this, two more men and two more women perform their dances. After this has been done twice, E'acm stands near the door, looking upward, and says, "They are very near now." By this time the whole house is full of people. He goes around the house three times, dancing. Then he stays near the door, looking upward, saying all the time, "They are near by." When he reaches the door the fourth time, he cries, "They have arrived! Now they are here, dancing on the roof." E'acm continues to dance in the house, in order to induce them to come down. The first to come down is Xonxondah'ola, who stops at the rear of the house and sits down. E'acm continues to dance, and the others enter in order. E'acm stands near them and says, "Now I have placed